361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 /30/ Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word tigemmi, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," ibyut. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," tiflut, or even imi, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those
342 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in
592 Seksawa there are no ikhs /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although
613 one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same ikhs. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the ikhs is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are
184 of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

• 592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the At-
128 las. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

/35 cont./

184 343 712 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its [171] extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a fortiori among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 178 592 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.

[593] [591] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 592 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 264 [178] 252 [178] [178] [562] [342] 272 178

/36 cont./ There still exist some houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a decline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also presides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized: that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in turn by the spouses in a single place: aârich in Mtugga, kechchina in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains, does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the dispersion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode, is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever. Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of the habitat, this tigemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476

[233]

[464]

[241]

000

The woman
593 /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having
[586] rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

●592 178 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kānūn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] [586] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws, even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 178 593 There is another point at which a recent evolution has influenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waṣiyya, ṣṣadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./

425 178 593 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This research in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture. 584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps sometimes made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context. [198]

592 613 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami, to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head." [561] [426]

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{C}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{C}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyad'ma), 1 in ait ^{C}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

/198 cont./

423 794 (452) peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here, and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 613 592 At present, three ikhs-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Âli, are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Âli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the ikhs-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Âli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Âli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the ikhs-s, and even of many families of each ikhs, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Âli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 423 178 613 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phenomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has been done s-içd'ar or s-tghuma, "by sluices." That is to say, by ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some tw[illegible] [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into
ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserv-
ing a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails
among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[42] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/226 cont./

423 312 613 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here, each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 [191] The first explanation that would come to mind is that of these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European North, the muchāc of Syria, samplings of the same type. But 619 634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the [613] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and [592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these [423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers. I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [592] 794 613 [592]

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/307 cont./

796 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

796 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4 villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidat, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[634] [792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic 681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that 592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not [621] correspond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit [634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite [613] mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

/370 cont./

592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695 1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

/438 cont./

171 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a
613 clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ᶜazri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs
• [592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely negative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

Plate VIII:

133 361 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).

This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are [592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 346 695 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).

This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.

241 291 516 778 Plate IX:

/At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).

This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.

133 162 361 619 634 613 778 796 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable degree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants) and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates, the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 .592 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a rampart; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

[162]

361 712 341 184 342 The urban character of the construction of the qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architectural tradition and a technique more skillful and perfected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 184 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely necessary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 184 [642] or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] [414] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. [592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. 562 Even the markets are sometimes separate (1). 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to [527] Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two [831] groups.

595 /218 cont./
[539] eat your harvests (1)!"

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly [554] [613] is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the 'mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social [212] [755] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets [358] [574] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity [185] by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the [241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for [245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when [624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] [787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 313-315. For other reasons, [423] the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines.

[652] The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.